The Intercollegiate Socialist

Why Join the Party?

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The Fuel of the City

By Ernest Poole

Socialism and Education

By C. Hanford Henderson, Ph.D.

The Spirit of the Russian Student

By Albert Edwards

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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Why Join the Party?

By PROFESSOR VIDA D. SCUDDER, *Wellesley*

(Author of "Social Ideals in Letters," "Socialism and Character," etc,)

Hundreds of Socialists all over the country are asking themselves this question. Real Socialists too, not of the parlor type, but of the common garden variety—hardy perennials, if you will. They are people who have gone far ahead of the excellent reform program in which progressives of all schools agree; people who would never be content with the gradual establishment of a reasonable modicum of social well-being and economic "justice"; people whose convictions do not stop short of the abolition of the wage system, the socializing of all socially productive wealth, and an uncompromising industrial democracy realized through a co-operative commonwealth. Times move swiftly: sometimes it seems as if these strong formulae, still abhorrent to the majority, held the assent of every fifth person one talked to—certainly of every tenth. We witness from day to day a surprising growth of Socialist conviction and emotion. But of avowed Socialists only a small percent take what would seem to be the natural step, and join the party committed to the principles they profess. Why not?

We all know the reasons well enough —especially as they obtain in that middle class world which is the field for I. S. S. propaganda. Many people hate to stress the class struggle as an instrument. Others suspect a materialistic cast of thought and dislike the animus of the movement. Others would "feel queer" in the party organization. And to a great many it never occurs to join, because while Socialist literature and Socialist emotion have to a considerable extent percolated into their intellectual and academic world, the fighting force, the practical movement, remain outside their vision and beyond their horizon. They are actually unaware of it as a thing to be taken seriously and with respect: except in the vaguest sort of way, they are ignorant that it exists.

More than any other modern political movement, Socialism is rooted in a philosophical conception. One has to think hard to accept it. This fact may some day prove its strength, meantime it is in some respects a temporary weakness. No particular intellectual travail is necessary to make a man into a Republican, or a Democrat. The Progressive platform is hardly more than an orderly expression of good-will angered by our obvious social wrongs. But to become a Socialist is different. This involves a long grave process of thought, an abandonment of traditions instinctively cherished, a deliberate mental emancipation of oneself, and a tremendous act of both intellectual and moral courage. So intense is the process, so dramatic the final acquisition of faith, whether faith come suddenly as a conversion or slowly as a natural climax, that these seem in a way all-sufficient. The thing is so great that one stops there: lost "in won-

der, love and praise," thankful that one has escaped the blind alley of social hopelessness, and beholds the way to social righteousness clear before one.

Numbers of people whose lives do not involve them in any political or industrial struggle, are precisely at this point. As they have decided whether they will follow Kant or Locke, James or Royce, Bergson or another, so they have made up their minds to be Socialists. They have found their intellectual home: and there is an end of it.

But it should not be the end. To be a Socialist implies a different kind of responsibility from being a disciple of Hegel. For, though Socialism be rooted in abstract ideas of human relations and rights, it flowers in a definite conception of social organization, which will never become actual unless we make it so. Between the act of faith and the cooperative commonwealth, lies the big struggle. And the fight is "on." As English Walling so well insists, while the academic theorists have been cautiously coming to their convictions, the Socialist movement, proletarian, passionate, political, has been growing straight out of life. Between the theorists and the fighters, a gap yawns wide. It should be crossed; and life is so much more than theory, that it is the part of the theorists to cross the gap, to join the party.

One can not decide for other people, and many clever and good men and women are conceivably serving the Socialist cause better outside the party than they could within it. It is well to confront the situation honestly. By staying out one avoids a lot of misconception; by coming in one forfeits a lot of influence. By staying out one keeps clear of corporate responsibility for many things, tangible and intangible, of which he may disapprove; by coming in one may meet distressing moments, when he has apparently to endorse what he may really abhor. For instance, if one stays out he can cast his vote in an opportunist fashion, as he may judge best at a particular moment; if he is within, he has become part of an organization demanding fidelity to its decisions: decisions to be sure which he has his share in reaching through the party vote, but from which he may in the end dissent. To an appreciable degree, one does in joining the Socialist Party sacrifice his liberty. By staying out one can remain in a pure atmosphere, remote from the agonizing process toward freedom in a god-like aloofness contemplating an inspiring ideal. If one comes in, the dust of battle hides the vision, and in the turnings of the way one questions if the goal be lost.

Yes! Staying out is more comfortable. One feels more clean, more free. There is only one trouble. No real gods ever are aloof. To think them so was an old theological blunder. All the real gods are within the struggle, and the very process itself is their expression of themselves. If we want to be god-like, we too must get into that struggle and that process. To stay out is the human instinct; to get within, is the divine method.

To stay outside the Socialist Party when one has become convinced that Socialism is true, is an unsocial performance. One does not judge other people. Every last one of us, Socialists not in the least excepted, is an individualist, and even an anarchist, in spots; and nobody gets socialized through and through by simply adhering to the Socialist creed. But that creed like all others is worthless unless it gets into experience and recreates life, and just in proportion as it does so, liberty, status, influence, irresponsibility toward the wrongs and blunders of others, all cherished assets to be kept by remaining outside the party, fade and lose their value before the spiritual vision; while one thing shines out—the chance to bear one's little witness; the privilege of enlisting in the great army definitely pledged to fight for what one believes in.

Here, moreover, is one way of getting

drill in associated life and effort. That kind of drill has many unpleasant possibilities: to belong to the Socialist Party is often as disconcerting as to belong to the Christian Church, and lays one equally open to misrepresentation. But the race has got to have an immense amount of this kind of anti-individualistic discipline in the common life, if a Socialist world is to be possible. And where should a Socialist spirit secure such discipline in democratic and corporate activity more naturally than within the political organization pledged to work for his ideals?

Many convinced Socialists stay outside the party because they do not like our avowed use of the class struggle as an instrument. Now we are always saying the party does not create that struggle by recognizing it, and if the Lord has allowed it to develop as an historic phenomenon, He probably intends us to make some use of it. But if people do not like it, they have the power to soften its asperities and modify its character, by the very simple act of joining the proletarian movement, which if sufficient numbers join, would be a proletarian movement no longer in any sense to which exception could be taken, though in the true sense it must always remain such. In the same way, if people think the animus of the party materialistic or anarchistic (an opinion in which if they join they will find themselves largely mistaken) they can change that animus and introduce new factors and emphases as swiftly as they will. If mere ignorance holds them out—and the all but hopeless provincialism that stifles an intellectual aristocracy is a more deadening negative force than we realize—then they need for their own salvation to escape from books to life.

How worth while it will be if honest Socialists by hundreds and by thousands, can be persuaded to see the matter in this way!

The Fuel of the Cities

(An Appeal to the Collegian)

By Ernest Poole

(Author of "A Man's Friends," etc.)

This is to you who are soon to come from the colleges into the cities. I came to New York ten years ago, and for me it has been a great ten years to live in. But for you and me together I see a still greater decade opening before us. And beyond the years seem stretching out in a vista of immense and stirring changes —in a world slowly drawing closer together and binding together the minds of men—with the endless possibilities that lie in this binding.

You are the fuel of the cities. In the next ten years you will come by millions from colleges all over the land. And by tens of millions others who are young like you but have no colleges behind them will come from the villages and farms not only of this country but of all parts of the western world—from Russia, Norway, Sweden, from Poland, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Greece and many other nations. All will come pouring into the cities with you—its fuel. And out of the fires new cities will rise. Your lives will make those cities.

In the city as it is to-day what kinds of lives are open to you people from the colleges? You need not starve nor live at the bottom, for your college training will give you advantages over the others. And while only one or two in each hundred of you will go to the top, the rest

by sticking hard to your jobs and the daily grind may fill more or less comfortable places below, between the top and the bottom. So much for your bread and meat and the places that you sleep in.

But which way are your minds and your sympathies to turn? Will you be little hangers on, faithfully supporting the top and receiving in return what favors it chooses to give you, or will you turn your minds to the mass, the millions at the bottom—become part of this mass in its upward heavings and strainings, with its deep and still subconscious but awakening purpose to throw off its chains, to build a city where none may starve and where all may do more than work, eat and sleep? If you take this latter course I will tell you what you will find yourselves doing in the fifty years ahead.

You will find yourselves sweeping dirt and disease and foul air and darkness out of the town that fresh air and the sunlight and health may come in. To do this you will go into the slums—you doctors, writers and speakers and other workers of many kinds—and tell what you find and what must be done. You will no more be stopped in the telling than the abolitionists were stopped in the century before you. You will keep steadily on, as many have done and are doing still, until you have moved the mass to act. And then with the mass behind you, you will take the city in hand —you engineers and builders — and plough through its slums and congested centers with broad streets and boulevards, parks large and small, and adequate subways owned and run by all the people—for the people. And having so made the best of the city as it is, you will plan out the city that is to be, in the up-springing resident sections outside. You will give to this larger city not only air and light but spacious dignity and grace—a fit abode for the kind of people your children's children are going to be.

There will be for them no factory fires, no clouds of smoke and dust, no sickening odors, no deafening noise. For you chemists, inventors and engineers will have rid us of these things by then. There will be great civic power plants from which will go forth light, heat and power to all factories, offices, shops and homes. And with all the long weary toil of the doctors—such doctors as some of you will be—and all the saner habits of living that will prevail—diseases and deformities will most of them cease to torture mankind. His city and his body will be a good place for man's mind to inhabit.

All this you will find yourselves doing. But you will also find that you can do nothing without the mass. For the powerful few at the top fear change. You will find some of them blocking your every move—for some of them have profit in every evil that you would destroy. More and more you will be forced to turn to the people below, the millions driven and sweated and starved, who have nothing to lose and a world to gain, the millions who only need to be shown the ways out—shown and shown year after year until they are sure—and then they will take the great roads to the future in ever increasing armies.

And they can do it. They have the power. For within the next ten years not only these millions of men but all these millions of women will vote. And more and more as the years go on these driven ones will vote together. You speakers. you organizers of strikes, parades and demonstrations, you night workers in election time, you officials the people force into office, you lawyers who draft the new laws to formulate the people's will, you fighters and you dreamers and other workers of many kinds—will find yourselves working with the people—the people beside you, the people your friends, your comrades in the fights—the fights for shorter and shorter hours, higher and higher pay,

better and better conditions of labor and life—the fight of the people to take full control of all that they themselves have built—until in the city that is to be all places of dwelling and work and play will be owned by the dwellers and workers and players, owned by the city which will be theirs. And then justice will be theirs at last.

And meanwhile, all through these years of strife—of victories, disappointments, mistakes, defeats and slow recoveries—you educators of many kinds will be busy with the children, training their bodies and minds for these fights and for the city that is to be theirs—moulding or helping to mould itself a new race of people upon the earth—people with vigorous minds for work, wide sympathies that embrace all the nations; deep, true perceptions of beauty and truth wherever it is, a vision that will reach over the world and up into the spaces where move the stars. People who will see so much deeper than ourselves into this mystery of our lives upon this little ball of space, that it will be hard for them to gain even a hint of how we thought and felt and struggled upward blindly to the light. But this will be for your children's children and all that come when they too are gone.

For you and me is the present life, the city as it is to-day, the present injustices, the present slums, the present grab for the dollar. For you and me the rough labor of ploughing, of clearing away, of breaking chains, of freeing ourselves from the bonds that enslave us so that our children's freeer minds can go on with the mighty work of building.

Let us begin while we are young.

One Who Dared

By James Oppenheim

His heart was a burning whiteness,
His spirit was spent, spent,
For that he beheld the infamy
Of Justice twisted and bent . . . .

He could not endure the vision
Of the child at work in the mill,
Nor of women torn from the birth-bed
By the bread-struggles that kill. . . .

Nor of strong men sapped at forty,
Nor fat wealth's flabby rule,
Law in the hands of the tyrant,
Food in the fist of the fool. . . .

Wealth the toiler created
Sleeking some idle son,
And the shamed girls bold in the shadows,
Their dark lives yet to run. . . .

So he clothed himself in the courage,
And he was ready to die,
And he gave of his nearest, dearest,
(Oh, not as you and I!)

And he offered his neck to the hangman,
And his flesh to the powers that be—
But his soul he gave to his brothers,
A sword that shall set them free.

Education and Socialism

(Observations of a Teacher)

By C. Hanford Henderson, Ph.D.

(Author of "Education and the Larger Life," "The Lighted Lamp," etc.)

It is significant of the aims of Socialism that it has attracted to its ranks, on both sides of the water, such a surprisingly large percentage of the intellectual workers of society—writers, scientists, artists, musicians and educators. These men and women are all working for ideal ends. Their concern for society is large and disinterested. A social creed which makes social welfare consist in the happiness and well-being of each and every member of society, rather than in the disproportionate and inauspicious wealth of a few, appeals very strongly to men and women working for other than selfish and personal ends. Their own individual lot may be entirely fortunate, but since their major concern in life is to further ideal social ends, they cannot for a moment rest content, while so large a proportion of their fellows are not only vastly less fortunate than themselves, but also vastly less fortunate than they need to be.

If I may judge others by myself, Socialism becomes inevitable as soon as a man knows his goal and stands face to face with the question of wages and means. My own major concern has always been with education and literature. I started out, as I presume many other intellectual workers started out, with nothing in my possession so coherent and intelligible as a social creed. In its stead, I had the left-over fragments of my college teaching, a curious collection of platitudes on many unrelated subjects. In addition to this unpromising medley I nursed the comfortable feeling that if each man did his best, doubtless everything would come out all right in the end.

At the outset, I had small interest in economics and with my then master, Herbert Spencer, regarded Socialism as a form of slavery which it behooved us all to combat in season and out of season. But matters soon began to look differently when I came to the actual work of teaching. I discovered what so many other teachers have been forced to discover, that education cannot be divorced from economics and remain a social interest. I began my teaching in a public high school and that is an admirable outlook for social study. Here was a group of selected boys, but selected on what grounds? So simple a question as this is bound to set a man thinking.

It took little penetration to discover that the group did not include all the boys who desired the more advanced education of a high school, but only those whose parents were at the moment so fortunately circumstanced that they could afford to keep their boys in school. In addition, boys were constantly falling out of line, some because they were not naturally studious and failed to keep up with the prescribed course, but many dropped out unwillingly, because the father died or lost his job or met with some financial reverse which made it seem necessary for the boy to go to work. More light came at each graduation when I inquired with keen interest what the boys proposed to do in life. Fresh from the university myself, I preached the higher education to all who would listen. Some of my boys were ready to go to college and could. Many of them were ready to go and could not.

Having close relations with the univer-

sity I got many of these poorer boys in on scholarships and partial scholarships. I was importunate to the last degree. A man who could not easily beg for himself can be quite conscienceless when it comes to begging for others. But even yet it never occurred to me to ask how it was that I was obliged to beg for an opportunity which should have belonged by right to every boy who cared to claim it. I took the caprices of fortune for granted and was happy to be of service to as many boys as I could. But one cannot be genuinely interested in education without rubbing up at every turn against this very insistent bread-and-butter question. Nor can one easily confine ones interest to one group of boys or to one grade of instruction. My own personal interest soon traveled along the whole line of education, back to the nursery, and then in the other direction on through college and professional school into the activities of adult life. And everywhere I found the same thing, I found educational and social effort being constantly defeated for lack of means, and this, not because we were not the richest nation on the face of the earth but for the less forgivable reason that our immense national resources were being administered for the benefit of the few and not for the welfare of the many. I might hold what comfortable sophistry I chose with regard to the fate of the adult world, but the case of the children was manifestly a case of social duty undischarged. It was monstrous to handicap a child for the whole of life simply because he was an orphan or because his parents were unfortunate, or even because they were drunken or idle or incompetent.

It was the constant defeat of the high aims of education that first led me to see that there is something fundamentally wrong in our present social and industrial arrangements.

As far as my own high school boys were concerned, the cause of the trouble was not far to seek. Each family was individually fighting the wolf at the door, two often forced to drive him away by setting him the more remorselessly upon some neighbor's door. No family was secure. All along the line then was for the majority heart-rending defeat, and the children paid the penalty. The wolf of human want is the bitterest enemy of us all, and it is only by concerted action, by making common cause against a common enemy, that he can be finally defeated, and relegated to his proper place among the extinct fauna of a competitive age. This individual warfare waged against the wolf and not less surely against one another began to seem to me as little rational as the individual fight for justice expressed in the duel, the vendetta, the family feud. It is not the proper task of the individual, this daily fight against human want; it is the proper task of society and only society can be permanently victorious. Then I began to inquire into the source of my own income and to ask why my own lot was more fortunate than that of so many others. These are disquieting inquiries and start the rash questioner upon a long road. In attempting to educate others, one is put, oneself, quite rigorously to school.

One might, of course, travel some such road as I have been trying to point out, and still not become a Socialist. It is only when a man seeks for some way out of the difficulty, some workable method, that he is pretty sure to end in Socialism. To the actual worker in the field, it becomes increasingly clear that we cannot gain social welfare by individual, antagonistic action. It is only by concerted action, by pulling together, that all can be served. When a man realizes the necessity for concerted action in industrial matters he is at least half a Socialist; when he further realizes that this concerted action can never be so long as we go on exploiting one another for profit he has taken the final step. The aim of education and the aim of Socialism are at heart one and the same thing.

They both strive to give mankind a large and genuine freedom—the one a freedom from the tyranny of limited ideas, the other a freedom from the tyranny of material want.

Not only the aim, but also the method of Socialist propaganda is one that appeals to the majority of intellectual workers, and especially to teachers. This method is essentially and distinctly educational. There is no such thing as militant Socialism. The only force which a genuine Socialist can appeal to is the force of ideas. He will argue, persuade, instruct, discuss, if possible convince, but he will never employ physical compulsion. That would be to defeat his own end and purpose. He is after the Social State. Like all other human achievements, the Social State is not material—it is spiritual; it is a state made up of socially-minded individuals, men and women who have foresworn privilege and all its ways, and who seek the open door of opportunity for all. Because Socialism has to do with the reconstruction of our industrial life, and with the administration of national resources for the good of all, it is easy for an uncritical or unsympathetic onlooker to believe that its major concern is with the loaves and fishes; and that Socialists with their itching palm would if they had the power, lay violent hands upon the accumulated wealth of the country, and this appropriated, count their mission at an end. In reality nothing could be further from the truth and this in spite of the fact that Socialism admittedly grew out of the economic interpretation of history and the doctrine of surplus value. Both the purpose and method of Socialism have to do with that which endures —the human spirit—and concern themselves with the loaves and fishes as means, not ends. It is true that the major lines of social cleavage are economic, depend upon the manner in which the social classes earn or appropriate their daily bread-and-butter. It is true that our current morality is class morality and like class distinctions generally depends upon the source of our income.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the antagonistic lines of conduct which men and women follow in the various roles which they daily play. A man will do things in the line of business which he would quite scorn to do in social life, and do them apparently with a clear conscience. Nor need it be pointed out how amazingly callous we all are to the misfortunes and sufferings of those not in our own class. Socialists do not ignore these ugly facts. On the contrary, they recite them with telling effect. We are after a spiritual end, the Social State, but we realize that it has its roots in the homely material affairs of daily life, in food and clothing and shelter, in tools and apparatus and equipment. We realize that the bringing in of the Social State must go hand and hand with the right ordering of the industrial life which satisfies these primal human wants. The older Socialists made the mistake of over-emphasizing the material side of life, and of preaching a scientific determinism more inexhorable that the predestination taught by Calvin. They believed that to redeem society you had only to change and renovate the material environment, in a word that the material environment created the man. If this were true, it would be logical and consistent to employ physical compulsion and so bring in the Kingdom of Heaven by violence. This spirit is found in much of the older Socialist writings and is not entirely extinct even at the present day. But this is not the spirit of modern Socialism. I speak not only for myself but for a large and growing body of Socialists when I say that however powerful the influence of material environment upon human welfare may be, we know that the influence of man's own spirit is still more powerful. The time has passed when we can complacently believe ourselves the victims of an unfortunate environment, and can throw the responsibility for our salvation upon

some happy change in the environment wrought for us by an outside agency. On the contrary we believe with the sociologists that "the environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the environment."

In our interpretation of history, then, while we give due weight to the material factors, we see increasingly that the material factors are the outer expression of man's inner spirit, of his ignorance or his enlightenment. A modern Socialist might be willing to use physical compulsion, if by so doing he could bring in a fairer social order, but no one knows better than he the inherent, unescapable futility of such violence. If we had the power to inaugurate the full Socialist program in these United States to-morrow, and had to do it without the consent of a majority of our fellow-countrymen, we would unhesitatingly decline. We have no desire to invite so complete and crushing a defeat. The only genuine Socialist propaganda is educational. We are not fighting for Socialism. We are trying through the convincing reasonableness of our doctrines, to increase the number of active Socialists. When this number is great enough, the Social State is well on the way.

It little behooves a college man to be the advocate or propagandist of any too-rigid creed, for the history of culture is the history of the throwing over of positions once held to be impregnable, in favor of positions more in harmony with current knowledge and enlightenment. In speaking of the Social State, as the proper goal of Socialism, I have in mind no rigid ideal, but something very plastic and changeable, since I do not for one moment believe that any Socialist, however wise or prophetic he may be, can define or limit the Social State. It exists in no mind, human or divine. In part, it is already here. We ourselves create it day by day, and shall ever be creating it. I cannot foresee the time when either we or our descendants may properly say, "Now the Social State is an accomplished fact." Like the human spirit it is never complete—it is forever on the way.

We may sum up the whole matter by saying that education and Socialism form a closed circle. They are so inextricably interwoven that it is quite impossible to separate them. It is only through Socialism, through a collective administration of our ample national resources, that formal education can accomplish its proper mission in reaching all the children of the nation; and it is only through personal education in a large and informal sense, that we can hope to accomplish Socialism. Like education, Socialism is an eager creed, warmed through and through by the heat of a great moral enthusiasm. To that extent we are unavoidably propagandists. But just in the measure that we are true Socialists we decline to force our creed upon others, and desire only to reason and to convince. The Social State approaches as the number of socially-minded persons increases. Events are the real educators. As individuals we lend a hand to the progress of events, but our power grows a hundred fold if by convincing word and deed we point out to others the immense significance of events.

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The Spirit of the Russian Student

By Albert Edwards

(Author of "Panama," "Comrade Yetta," "A Man's World," etc.)

When the Apostle Paul boasted of his learning he said that he had "sat at the feet of Gamaliel." He told—not what he had studied—but the name of his professor. Russians will speak of their university courses in the same way.

The unpronouncable names of a score of professors are household words among the "intelligenzia." If you ask which of the great universities offers the best course in mathematics, the answer will be vague. But the university students will argue by the hour to convince you that Prof. Soandsoinsky of Moscow is a better man, a stronger character than Prof. Thingomivitch of Petersburg. The students elect personalities rather than courses.

The professors have—through the literary and scientific reviews—an influence which extends far beyond the walls of the universities. It is forbidden to discuss politics in these magazines, but most of them are party organs, supported by one or another of the political organizations. In reviewing a new translation of Shelley's poetry, the professor of Literature in the Moscow University will cleverly weave in the proposition to disagree with the philosophy of The Socialist Revolutionary Party is to prove one's lack of culture. The same month, in another review which is supported by the Marxists, the professor of Biology in Petersburg will criticise the latest book by a Neo-Darwinian and incidentally demonstrate that the hope of Russia lies with the factory proletariat.

The student about to choose a university, knows that most of the faculty of the University of Moscow are Revolutionary Socialists. The trend in Petersburg is towards Social Democracy. Kharkov—the blind university of the Empire—leans to the Constitutional Democratic Party. And the student chooses according as his temperament inclines him to one group of ideas or the other.

In all the universities a great deal of real work is done on non-political subjects—as the great number of eminent Russian scientists attests. But in 1906 and 1907, when I was in Russia, politics were certainly the principal preoccupation of the student body. In fact most of them were on strike. And it was a strike with "sabotage." By passive withdrawal in most cases, by breaking windows when necessary, the students had closed the universities and secondary schools. They had decided that it was more important to get a constitution for their country than degrees for themselves.

And these unemployed students composed the strongest corps in the revolutionary army. The heroism with which these young people threw themselves into the movement of revolt will never be fully recorded—the cases are too numerous and too monotonous. A dream that ended blindfolded before the firing squad or at best an aspiration which still keeps itself alive in some forgotten prison.

In 1906 I had the chance to become acquainted—to become a friend—with a group of University students in Moscow. There were twelve of them and for several months they had been at work organizing the workmen in the textile mills of the city. Their work was interrupted by the bloody "Insurrection of December." I have been able to keep informed about these twelve friends.

Continued on page 25

I. S. S. PROGRESS

Last year the Society made splendid strides forward. The number of undergraduate Chapters increased from 49 to 64 and graduate Chapters from 6 to 12; the Society established a quarterly, organized a New England Auxiliary Committee, assisted in the development of local conferences, routed speakers through the colleges more extensively than heretofore and formed closer relations with student groups abroad.

One of the most encouraging signs to be observed during 1912-13 was the manner in which the interest in Socialism seemed to pervade, as never before, many entire college bodies. This interest registered itself in the animated discussions on Socialism participated in by the students in the history and economic classes; in the extensive reading of Socialist books and periodicals and in the large attendance at the many meetings on Socialism arranged under the auspices of the Society and of other student and faculty organizations.

The year 1913-14 promises still greater progress.

The Intercollegiate Socialist, the quarterly of the Society, which has recently secured second class rates, will be continually improved. Already Socialists and others of national and international reputation have consented to contribute articles to the magazine. The symposiums on fundamental problems which are being arranged, the review of books department, the contributions of educators, writers, professional men and women—all will make the magazine invaluable to students of this problem. Members and friends of the Society are urged to support the work by obtaining new members for the Society, by securing subscribers, by ordering the quarterly in bulk, by bringing in advertisements, by patronizing advertisers and letting them know the reason for such patronage and by remitting news items, suggestions and contributions. Details concerning rates of advertising, subscription commission, etc., will be gladly furnished upon application.

During the Spring a New England Auxiliary Committee was formed, consisting of Ordway Tead, 20 Union Park, Boston, Chairman; Miss Josephine Burnham, Wellesley College, Secretary; Miss Josephine Bowden, Miss Frances Dadmun, Rev. Earl Davis, Miss Helena S. Dudley, C. Hanford Henderson, Alfred Jaretski, Jr., James Mackaye, Kenneth R. Macgowan, Rev. Grover C. Mills, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, J. F. Twombley, Chas. Zueblin and Rev. Albert Williams.

The Society is anxious that similar committees be organized in the middle West and on the Pacific Coast. These committees are formed to assist in the organization and strengthening of college groups in their vicinity; to arrange local conferences and to aid the General Society in the raising of funds. The Alumni Chapters in the various sections can also do valuable work in these directions. Extension Committees whose function it is to co-operate with the General organization in reaching collegians are urged upon all alumni chapters. Local conferences are already promised in New England, New York and Ohio. Glenn H. Speece of Ohio Wesleyan, in co-operation with the other undergraduate Chapters and with the Cleveland Chapter, are active in promoting a convention in the last named state.

The next I. S. S. Convention will be held in New York during the Christmas holidays. It will undoubtedly surpass all former gatherings and the Committee

urges all who possibly can to come to New York and participate in this convention.

In the summer of 1914 the International Socialist Congress will be held in Vienna. The members of the British University Socialist Society have suggested that a conference of collegians interested in Socialism be held in that city about that time. An international student conference is not beyond the realm of possibility.

The Society has long felt the need of speakers who can devote some time to trips among the colleges. This year a number of lecturers have kindly volunteered their services for a week or so, including Rose Pastor Stokes, John C. Kennedy, Walter Lippmann, William English Walling and others. Emil Seidel has also signified his willingness to speak in the vicinities of his regular lecture days. We will be glad to learn which of the Chapters can arrange meetings for these or other speakers.

The first meeting to be held by the General Society this year will be on October 27th, at Carnegie Hall, New York. The speakers will be Lewis J. Duncan, Socialist Mayor of Butte, Montana; George R. Lunn, Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, New York, and Charles Edward Russell, candidate for Mayor on the Socialist ticket of New York City. The meeting promises to be a notable success from every standpoint. Mayor Duncan is the one Socialist Mayor in an important municipality who has been re-elected against the combined votes of all of the other parties. This is his first trip to the East. The subject of the meeting will be "Socialism for the City."

For some time there has been a great need for a text book on Socialism especially adapted to college study groups—a clear, concise statement of the history of Socialism, its theoretical basis and the tactics and ideals of the present Socialist movement.

At the suggestion of our Executive Committee, Miss Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D., author of "American Socialism at the Present Day," has written such a book. It is published this fall by John Lane Company, price 75c.

The book is entitled, "The Facts of Socialism." Within the brief space of about 150 pages the author presents a birds-eye-view of the history of the Socialist movement; explains the theoretical basis of Socialism; enumerates the immediate measures for which Socialists are contending and the methods advocated by them for attaining Socialism; states the principal objections to Socialism and analyzes their validity; discusses the movement's relation to the family, religion and other institutions; describes the probable structure of the Socialist state in the light of modern economic developments and portrays with much faithfulness the different wings of the modern Socialist movement in this country. At the end of each chapter references and subjects for discussion are given.

While the book, for the most part, avoids the controversial and on account of its size, is unable to deal exhaustively with many important aspects of the problem, it is altogether one of the best books thus far published for use by I. S. S. Chapters and for study groups generally. It is also a splendid book to place in the hands of educated men and women desirous of getting at the heart of Socialism and the Socialist philosophy. The clearness and ease of the style add to its value. The work is earnestly recommended for study groups. Reduced rates are given to members of the Society. Orders will be received at our office, 105 W. 40th St., N. Y. City.

REVIEW OF VITAL BOOKS

THE LARGER ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM. By William English Walling. N. Y.: Macmillan. $1.50. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

In this work Walling completes the Study of Socialism begun in his "Socialism As It Is." The former volume treated the political and economic aspects of the movement, while the latter deals with its cultural bearings. The Socialist attitude toward science, history, morality, religion, education, and the relations of the sexes is presented chiefly through quotations from authors whom Walling considers the most advanced in their views upon these subjects. By no means are all these writers Socialists, but in Walling's opinion they are pragmatists—at least regarding the subject in question—and for Walling pragmatism is only another name for Socialism. The pragmatism of Professor John Dewey, according to Walling, is twentieth century Socialism.

Walling is at his best in the critical chapters of his work, especially in those in which he contrasts the pragmatic view with the science, "evolutionism," biology and history taught by those whose faces are turned toward the past.

The most disappointing chapters of the work are those dealing with the position of the individual in the "new society" and the Socialist view of morality. It is probably because Walling forgot his pragmatic philosophy at this point, and neglected to study the actual tendencies in the working class that he got so far afield as to select Stirnes and Nietzsche to express the Socialist ideals on these subjects. The ideals of these writers seem far more characteristic of the declining, petty bourgeoisie aspiring to "more freedom for the individual" than of the advancing proletariat which is becoming ever more conscious of its power through class solidarity, co-operation, and mass action. Walling seems to have forgotten the fact that the psychology of the working class is not an "I" but a "We" psychology, which cannot be expressed by a Nietzsche who never had the slightest conception of the meaning of Socialist co-operation and comradeship.

In this work, as in his previous volume, Walling constantly sets "State Socialism" and Collectivism over against true Socialism. Aside from the fact that unquestionably most Socialists are Collectivists, Walling seems to be extremely unpragmatic in his attempt to draw a sharp line between the capitalist society, the State Socialist society, and the real Socialist society. Unquestionably much of what he designated as State Socialism is simply the beginnings of the Socialist society into which we are rapidly evolving.

While few Socialists will be found wholly in accordance with Walling's opinions and conclusions, still his book is one of the most stimulating and original contributions yet made by any American to Socialist literature.

JOHN C. KENNEDY.

MARXISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. By Prof. V. Simkhovitch. N. Y.: Holt. $1.50. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

Professor Simkhovitch is a former Socialist. Yet his new book is purely a work of negative criticism. As such it is an exceedingly valuable summary of the anti-Marxist criticism of the last quarter of a century, and contains also some able additions by the author. But it is strange indeed that a former Socialist should be able to give us nothing whatever of a constructive character.

Simkhovitch says:

"So-called scientific Socialism is bankrupt . . . . (p. xi). The Marxian doctrine, which helped the development of Socialism throughout the world as no other doctrine ever did, has turned into a fetter, a trap, a pitfall from which there seems to be no escape" (p. vi).

When we come to specifications, however, we find that most of Simkhovitch's criticisms have long ago been admitted by the majority of Socialists. Nearly all agree that the middle class is not disappearing and that the misery of the workers is not increasing. And, although the theory of Inevitable Crises and that of Surplus Value have not been officially abandoned, they have passed into nonuse.

Others of his criticisms are contradicted by Simkhovitch himself. He denies "the concentration of production" in general terms. And yet he says:

"It is quite true that the concentration of industry is very great, and there is little doubt in my mind that our gigantic industrial organizations will before long be effectively controlled in some way or other by governmental agencies" (p. viii).

This admission is quite sufficient for all Socialist purposes.

Even when Simkhovitch acknowledges the truth of a Socialist principle, however, he endeavors to minimize its value. On the whole he seems to agree with the Economic Interpretation of History, and gives this theory great praise. Yet he says it is not "perfect" and that it is "the crudest and most *unfinished* doctrine in the field of social philosophy" (p. xiii). From the pragmatic standpoint no theory can be "perfect" and the nearer it is to being "finished," the nearer it is to the end of its usefulness.

Simkhovitch accuses Marx, perfectly rightly, of being guided by a social purpose rather than by mere scientific hypotheses.

"His single theories are instrumentalities, his many learned observations by-products of the central operation of his mind. Back of his most abstract reasonings, his seemingly purely scientific considerations, there is a tremendous emotional appeal" (p. 243).

Our author states Marx's purpose, however, as being Social Revolution. But this was purely secondary. The real basis of all his thinking and the explanation of his colossal influence was his passionate desire for Social Democracy.

It is in this attitude towards the central tenet of Socialism, the class struggle, that Simkhovitch is least constructive. He points out that the wage earning class has usually not struggled but has submitted, and he gives a correct economic explanation of this fact. This much would be admitted by any Marxist. The Marxist advocates class struggle all the more strongly precisely because there has hitherto been a conflict of class interests without any struggle.

It seems ridiculous to Simkhovitch to interpret the Civil War in terms of class struggle. So he obtains an easy victory over Marx (with a half century to aid him), but apparently loses in the operation, the whole meaning of this great conflict. Marx's explanation was both fatalistic and fallacious, as Simkhovitch shows. Marx wrote:

"Without slavery you have no cotton, without cotton you cannot have modern industry. It is slavery which has given their value to the colonies, it is the colonies which have created the commerce of the world, it is the commerce of the world which is the essential condition of great industry . . . . The slaves will be emancipated because they have become useless as slaves" (p. 280).

The war was clearly not a struggle between the incoming Capitalism and decaying Feudalism, as Marx held, but it was a struggle between small land holders and large land holders. The slaves never became useless to the large land holder but they had always been worse than useless to the small farmer. Slavery was not necessary to Southern agriculture, but it was necessary to Southern aristocracy—in view of the fact that with so much cheap land in the country cheap labor could not otherwise be obtained.

In a word Simkhovitch has become an Anti-Socialist. But this does not destroy the value of the critical part of his work. Even for Socialists the larger part of his criticisms are sound and their effect is in most cases merely to strengthen the main Socialist position—by ridding us of superfluous burdens.

SOCIALISM SUMMED UP. By Morris Hillquit. N. Y.: Fly & Co. $1, cloth; 25c., paper. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

Hillquit's new volume is undoubtedly the most able and valuable statement yet published of the present political philosophy and tactics of the Socialist International. It should be read by every student of Socialism. To say that it should be read critically is to take nothing from its value, for it is frankly a partizan plea.

Every paragraph bears the marks of having been newly thought-out and thought-through by the author, even in these cases when no new conclusions are reached. The consequence is that the book fully lives up to its earlier title. It undoubtedly presents Socialism Up-To-Date. On the other hand, it makes no effort at constructive criticism and does not attempt even to outline the Socialism of To-Morrow.

At the present political juncture one of Hillquit's definitions of Socialism is extremely important.

"Socialism aims at the destruction of all economic privileges and all class rule. The Socialists contend that the realization of their program will ultimately benefit the entire human race, but they frankly recognize that its immediate effects will be damaging to the beneficiaries of the present order and advantageous to its victims. In other words, Socialism necessarily involves an immediate material loss to the capitalist classes—and a corresponding gain to the working classes."

Some of Hillquit's propositions, however, seem to contradict this. He insists, for instance, on applying the term "Socialistic" to many progressive measures which happen to be favored by Socialists, and argues that a peculiar combination of measures advocated in a Socialist program, "not one of which standing alone, has a distinctive Socialist character," can yet make a Socialistic whole. Yet he admits that even if all of the reforms now demanded by capitalist progressives and Socialists alike were carried out, we would still not have materialized "any part" of the ultimate Socialist idea.

But as to the very crucial question of government ownership, Hillquit performs the invaluable service of destroying completely the misconceptions created by Berger and others in this country, as well as British Socialists of all parties:

"Socialists," Hillquit writes, "entertain no illusions as to the benefits of governmentally owned industries under the present regime. Government ownership is often introduced not as a democratic measure for the benefit of the people, but as a fiscal measure to provide revenue for the government or to facilitate its military operations. In such cases government ownership may tend to strengthen rather than to loosen the grip of capitalist governments on the people, and its effect may be decidedly reactionary. Similarly government ownership is often advocated by middle-class "reform" parties for the main purpose of decreasing the taxes of property owners and reducing rates of freight, transportation and communication for smaller business men.

"The Socialists advocate government ownership primarily for the purpose of eliminating private profits from the operation of public utilities, and conferring the benefits of such industries on the employees and consumers. Their demand for national or municipal ownership of industries is always qualified by a provision for the democratic administration of such industries and for the application of the profits to the increase of the employees' wages and the improvement of the service. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that when the Socialist platform declares in favor of government ownership of certain industries, the Socialist Party at the same time nominates candidates for public office pledged to carry out these measures in the spirit of that platform. In other words, what the Socialists advocate is not government ownership under purely capitalist administration, but collective ownership under a government controlled, or at least strongly influenced, by political representatives of the working class."

With one important omission (which we may supply from Kautsky's Class Struggle, p. 110) this is an excellent and an adequate statement. Kautsky's principle, however, is more important than all the rest of the statement put together.

"If the modern state nationalizes certain

industries, it does not do so for the purpose of restricting capitalist exploitation, but for the purpose of protecting the capitalist system and establishing it upon a firmer basis, **or for the purpose of itself taking a hand in the exploitation of labor."**

But what a contrast between Hillquit's position and Berger's repeated statements referring to the Post Office as an example of Socialism, as in his article in the American Magazine last year (1912):

"Whenever the nation, state, or community has undertaken to manage and own any large industry, railroad, mine, factory, telegraph, telephone, mill, canal, etc., this invariably redounded to the benefit of the commonwealth. Business will be carried on under Socialism for use and not for profit.

"This is the case now in the post office, public school, water works, etc.—wherever owned and managed by the **people."**

It would also be hard to overestimate the value of such a proposition as this:

"It is this world-like organized force, this growing international army of the Socialist warfare, which constitutes the most concrete, the most promising achievement of the Socialist propaganda."

It will be regretted by many that so little space in Hillquit's volume is given over either to this order of Socialist achievement, to constructive criticism and to such valuable distinctions as the above quoted statement about government ownership, while so much is devoted to so-called achievements to which, no matter how interesting and important they may be, Socialism can lay only the most doubtful claim.

But such criticisms are merely negative and can take away nothing from the many positive merits of the work.

Wm. English Walling.

THREE BOOKS ON SOCIALISM.

(1) AMERICAN SYNDICALISM. THE I. W. W. By John Graham Brooks. N. Y.: Macmillan, 1913. 264 pp. $1.25.

(2) SYNDICALISM, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND SOCIALISM. By John Spargo. N. Y.: Huebsch, 1913. 244 pp. $1.25.

(3) THE NEW UNIONISM. By Andre Tridon. N. Y.: Huebsch, 1913. 198 pp. $1.00. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

Dr. Louis Levine was fortunate enough to come out with a splendid study of French Syndicalism, evidently conceived long before the hysterical curiosity in the movement could have been expected. But quite evidently the three books under review were conceived under quite different conditions and perhaps the same standard should not be applied to them. All three show the extreme, almost unseemly haste in their preparation.

And yet, all three authors have done very useful work. We have three books, on an extremely interesting topic, representing three well defined attitudes, and while even a careful reading of all the three will not (and should not) help one to arrive at final conclusions concerning Syndicalism, they will at least underscore the vast variety of economic, historical, political, sociologic and psychologic problems upon which the Syndicalist movement touches.

The three attitudes represented by the three books may be designated as 1, an apology; 2, a denunciation and 3, an interpretation. They apply (as any one familiar with the three authors concerned will readily perceive) to the three books above mentioned in an inverse order. The reviewer has found Brooks' interpretation the most valuable study of the three, even though Brooks is hopelessly conservative in his social thought, notwithstanding the mild effort at Christian radicalism and ethical progressivism. What makes his study readable is the sincere desire to be fair, to listen, to observe and to understand rather than to glorify or to denounce. It is the psychological attitude, which the reviewer sympathized with perhaps because it was not altogether unlike his own. Here is an important, large historical movement. It is crude, it is uncouth, noisy, and sometimes even silly. It cannot be the whole truth. It is changing from day to

day and so no final judgment concerning it can be pronounced. But it is *big,* and it means a lot, and it must bring some positive results.

Brooks' point of view is hopelessly middle class as is indicated by his declaration that the point of view of the general public (a small minority of the population) is more important than that of the twenty-two or three million wage-earners.

Brooks is to be congratulated upon recognizing both that "Socialism becomes part and parcel of our political and social structure" (page 4), and that the I. W. W. movement is strictly a revolutionary uprising against that part of the present order which is known as capitalism (p. 22). But after all, the positive function of both Syndicalism and Socialism is the service of the awakener (title of Chapter XVIII). "Every step towards larger justice or social protection seems possible only after some shock to the conscience or to the emotions." That shock the I. W. W. effectively supplies.

Though in the beginning the book treats the I. W. W. as a revolutionary uprising, towards the close of the book, in an effort towards an ethical synthesis, a "shock absorber" is attached. Thus we learn that the I. W. W. change their attitude wherever the struggle passes into the stage of definite accountabilities, that "on the first approach of definite responsibility the I. W. W. reflect, compare, and balance," that they meet situations in the spirit of a sensible trade union or an arbitration board—the spirit of a wholesome opportunism." Thus while the Syndicalist Tridon might accuse the moderate Spargo of opportunism, the latter quite unexpectedly finds help in the conservative Brooks, who points his wise finger at the red hot revolutionary and says, "Why, my friend, you are another—opportunist."

We doubt whether many I. W. W'ites will accept Brooks' interpretation. But the middle class "public," which will read Brooks rather than Tridon, will get at least a bird's eye view of the new phase of the labor movement.

Spargo's book is more ambitious than that of Brooks. His bibliographical appendix contains a bewildering variety of English, French, German and Italian titles, that whet the appetite of an inquisitive student. Brooks speaks primarily of the American movement; Spargo goes after the Syndicalist philosophy, its sociology, its economics and its literature not only in America, but throughout the world. Spargo promises to be fair. Considering that the lectures on which the book is based were delivered in December 1912, and January 1913, and remembering the acred discussions of the time, Comrade Spargo's efforts at impartiality are very commendable even if the success achieved in that direction is somewhat doubtful. The book is characterized by the usual brilliancy of Spargo's lectures, and makes decidedly interesting reading. But the argumentative tone does not increase its value as a source. The task of finding and defining one uniform basis of all the national movements which go by the name of Syndicalism is not a light one. In thus looking for the Syndicalism of "Labriola, Sorel and Haywood," he has perhaps overlooked the social significance of the movement aside from its interpretations. Surely no one's theories of the overthrow of capitalism, direct action, anti-parliamentarianism, sabotage, abolition of the state and the future co-operative society, are sufficient to explain either the Lawrence success or the Paterson failure. One need not agree with the anarchistic ideas concerning the state, one may smile at the rather naive faith in the efficacy of sabotage, but one cannot help feeling that he has not altogether succeeded in escaping the spirit of "new unionism."

Exclusion of the Syndicalists from the party ranks is considered by Spargo a "necessary step," and so section 6 is

upheld. The unfortunate narrow definition of political action is accepted without even a suggestion of amendment. Under this definition even the famous Russian Railroad strike was not a "political action." If as a matter of fact even official statisticians of the Russian government have recognized the concept of a "political strike," there seems no necessity to make our own concept of political action narrower than that.

The best thing about Tridon's book is its title, for it carries with it the strong and important suggestion (perhaps irrespectively of the author's wishes) that the new movement is bigger than any set of "isms" which is forced down its throat. There are also many interesting quotations, especially valuable when taken from foreign and inaccessible pamphlets. But the text which joins them exhibits a perfectly delightful disregard of facts and of consistency.

"Every lawyer handling labor accident cases in court knows that very few workers or workers' families suing employers for damages ever recover a cent," he declares (p. 53). Tridon evidently has never heard of employers' liability and compensation laws. "New unionists will not go on strike for the exclusive purpose of securing material advantages of a temporary nature" (page 28) he affirms. And yet the whole chapter on sabotage is devoted to a description of strikes conducted for definite material advantages. New York Socialists will enjoy the statement concerning the "strong organization" which was borne from the hotel workers' strikes of 1912 and 1913. On page 111, the impression is conveyed that Haywood, who, by the way, is quoted as an authority on the commune (p. 32), was recalled from the National Executive Committee because of his attacks on the A. F. of L. and his propaganda for industrialism. The plain truth is, as everybody knows, that the real cause was the definite anti-political stand which he took in the Bronx speech.

His assertion of a "syndicalist tendency" in the German labor unions just because their statistics demonstrate a tendency to consolidation and concentration (p. 164); his preposterous insinuation that the disintegration of the American Railway Union was due to the action of Debs in 1897 in turning over the organization to the Socialist Democratic colonization scheme (p. 95) are other instances of his reasoning. To be sure, these vagaries do not argue against Syndicalism and new unionism, but they do seem to show that something else besides enthusiasm and temperament is necessary for writing socio-economic studies.

Syndicalism, American or otherwise, is still awaiting its profound students. But meanwhile, and notwithstanding all that was said above, the interested student is urged to read all the three books, as the reviewer has done. He is not sure that all of them have helped him to understand the movement, to get at its true inwardness, but at least they have prevented him from falling into the abyss of any fixed ideas on the subject. They have kept his mind open, and under the circumstances that is no small virtue.

DR. I. M. RUBINOW.

MY LIFE. By August Bebel. Chicago University Press. $2.00. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

The world was startled last summer by the news of the death of August Bebel, one of the most renowned of the world's statesmen, and for many years the foremost representative of the working class in any of the nations' parliaments. His death revealed the fact that he was as well one of the most beloved leaders of this century.

America is fortunate in having an autobiography of his early life—published by the Chicago University Press a few months before he passed away—a book

which every one interested in Socialism ought to read.

This book is more than an autobiography of the "Lion of the Reichstag." It is also a history of the struggles, persecutions and victories of the Socialist Parliamentarians and of the development of the social and class consciousness and solidarity of the laboring class of Germany. It is an expose of Bismarckian duplicity and Machiavellian diplomacy. It is a sermon for direct-actionists. It is a text-book of Socialist tactics tried and proved.

The simple clear-cut style of the book as well as the facts reveals the straightforward character of the man. The story of his boyhood and struggle with poverty, his domestic relationships, his conflict with the law, his imprisonments and his repeated victories at the polls, is vividly told, but without embellishment. The sidelights of contemporary history and characters are extremely illuminating. The following extract from the preface gives a glimpse of the man's character:

"The most remarkable and influential of men is more often the thing driven than the driving power. . . . . It was thus that in the course of a few years from being a convinced and decided opponent of Socialism I became one of its most zealous adherents."

The book is at once inspiring and instructive. The story of the labor movement emerging out of chaos, strife and dissension to victory and solidarity gives hope to faint hearts and pessimistic souls engaged in a parallel struggle.

EDGAR W. HERBERT.

SOCIALISM.

(1) MONARCHICAL SOCIALISM IN GERMANY. By Elmer Roberts. N. Y.: Scribners. $1.50.

(2) EUROPEAN SOCIALISM AT WORK. By Fred. C. Howe. N. Y.: Scribners, 1913. $1.75. For Sale at I. S. S. Office.

These two clear, comprehensive statements of governmental enterprises in Germany are in a sense complementary. Mr. Roberts deals primarily with state owned enterprises, Mr. Howe, with municipal government. The latter, while giving most attention to German cities, also, as the title of the book suggests, describes municipal government in many other parts of Europe.

For anyone who desires to obtain a glimpse of the character of state Socialism as distinguished from democratic Socialism, Elmer Roberts' book is heartily recommended. Besides describing the workings of the industries actually owned by the state, the author deals with the remedies which have been applied by that country to the trust, the railway, the unskilled labor and the land problems, and analyzes the difference in the aims and ideals of Social Democracy and monarchical Socialism.

According to Mr. Roberts, the imperial government and the government of the German state cleared in 1911 from the various businesses conducted by them $282,749,224, while 38 per cent. of all the financial requirements of the federal states were met last year out of profits on government owned enterprises.

The author emphasizes the efficiency and the high code of honor of the employees of the German government, who receive but comparatively small salaries.

"In Germany a public servant, because of the power that the class possesses, the personal distinction and the social position that go with the public service, is willing to work for the state for less than he could receive in the service of a private company," he affirms. "The chiefs of technical bureaus in the mining, agriculture, forestry, telegraph, telephone or railway services are paid from $1,750 to $3,000 a year. The director-general of the Alsace-Lorraine is paid $3,750 and allowance for house rent. The district superintendents on the Prussian lines, each of whom has supervision over 1,500 to 2,000 miles of lines, are paid $2,750 with their dwellings. It frequently happens that men in the government service of unusual capacity, reject offers from private concerns from one to three times the salaries they are receiving."

The Social Democracy, according to Mr. Roberts, is responsible for at least some of this efficiency. "The agitations of the Social Democratic party," he declares, "the possibilities of real danger in the movement, brace the monarchists to efficiency and prudence in an administration. Hostile criticism searches out the weak places." The pressure of the working class, he believes, has been a considerable factor indirectly in forcing social reform.

"My idea was to bribe the working class," he quotes Bismarck as saying in regard to industrial insurance, "or shall I say to win them over, to regard the state as a social institution existing for their sake and interested in their welfare."

The dangers of the German bureaucratic Socialism are well set forth. "Every collectivist addition to the responsibility of the state," he declares, "brings a new corps of employees under the immediate control of the functionaries of government. The monarchy extends its power over the individual fortunes of its subjects. No one may hold any position in the public service, not even that of a section hand on a railway and admit that he is a Socialist, nor may he teach in any school or university."

The author tells of the steady rise of the Socialist Party in Germany and its present influence. "The Party owns," he says, "76 Socialist newspapers, a press association, several illustrated periodicals and 57 public houses. The literature, including a considerable range of non-Socialistic books, is immense. The Party has 200 circulating libraries and 377 branches. The management of the Party acts upon the principle that all stimulating scientifical, poetic, philosophical and romantic literature advances the cause. The Party maintains an academy at Berlin for the training of the paid provincial secretaries and organizers." The steady increase of Socialist votes from 1871 to 1912 is shown. In the former year, 124,711 voted the Social Democratic ticket, in the latter, 4,250,329.

The book is descriptive rather than argumentative.

Dr. Howe regards the German municipalities as the highest development in the civilized world. He declares that the municipalities are running vast numbers of enterprises with increasing success and efficiency, that corruption is almost totally absent, and that the directors are more open-minded to improvements, and employees, trained in colleges especially organized for that purpose, are more courteous and alert than in private concerns.

> The average citizen, Dr. Howe asserts, pays far more attention to the conduct of municipalities than does the American. This is due, he believes, to the importance of the functions performed by the collectivity. Even the poorest feels that the city is an important thing in his life, he declares, so important, in fact, that he must, in self-protection, concern himself about the city .... The bigness of a city, the services it renders, its intimate touch with all classes, awaken their interest and affection .... It is a distinction to be entrusted with the control of the most important corporation in the community, to handle millions, to direct construction work, to be of commanding service. Men of talent are allured by such opportunities—opportunities which do not exist in the American city. With us there is little to engage the imagination or the ability of a man of talent. We have reversed the natural order of things in this country. We say that municipal ownership must wait on honesty and efficiency. Rather we should say that honesty and efficiency will be brought in with municipal ownership; that only through making a city an important thing will it awaken interest and enthusiasm.

The governing, the planning, the housing, the budget making, the protective measures given to the workers in German and British cities, also receive due attention.

Dr. Howe is unstinted in his praise of the altruism of the business man of Germany. May not much of this apparent devotedness to the interest of the

city, however, be accounted for by the knowledge that an efficient state capitalism renders workers more productive, coupled, perhaps, with the fear of the still greater power of the Social Democracy to which an inefficient State Capitalism would probably lead? While the lack of democracy in the entire scheme of government and municipal enterprises is mentioned, such lack is not treated as of great significance.

These books are perhaps the most authoritative thus far published in English on their special phases of European life. Describing as they do forms of state enterprises which will undoubtedly be entered upon in the United States in the not distant future, they are worthy of the close attention of the American student. H. W. L.

Continued from page 14

Only two of them are alive and free—they are dragging out a pitiful existence in exile, envying their more fortunate comrades who were killed in fight. Five of the dozen, four men and one woman, were shot at sunrise. All at different times—alone. Two we know have died in prison. The rest are waiting for death—they will not live through their sentences. And as far as I know the name of no one of them has ever been printed except in police annals. Their fate has been too commonplace to be recorded.

Russian students are a serious lot. They can't understand our interest in athletics.

IN THE COLLEGES

NEW ENGLAND STATES

"Be assured of my co-operation during the coming season which I hope will be an unusually successful one," writes R. W. Chubb, Harvard 1915, president of the HARVARD Socialist Club. President Chubb is one of the editors of the "Crimson." C. Boni is secretary of the club and C. H. Weston, 1914, president of the Harvard Monthly, is a member of the Executive Committee. P. J. White, Jr., last year's secretary, who was assigned one of the two commencement parts for honors in English, gave a splendid oration at graduation on "The Harvard Radicals," in which he contended that the radical group of students found in the Harvard Socialist Club presented one of the most encouraging features of the University life.

At YALE a fine series of lectures is being arranged. Among the probable speakers are Mrs. Florence Kelley, Louis Brandeis, Mayor George R. Lunn, and Robert Hunter. Henry T. Rogers, 1914, is president; Yale Stevens, 1914, vice-president; Alexander Trachtenberg, P. G., secretary, and Du Bois Murphy, 1915, treasurer of the Yale Society. This Chapter last year was credited with being "the greatest thought-stimulating influence that had entered the life of Yale in years."

"Two years ago Socialism was tabooed at WILLIAMS," writes William Hinkle. "It was not to be mentioned; now it is a theme of common talk and discussion. The attitude we are creating has also been a sympathetic one. In May we had a debate on Socialism in the economics class and it was with difficulty that the professor could find anyone to uphold the negative. Quite a number refused when asked, five of them on the ground that they felt too favorably disposed toward Socialism to speak against it." Two of the ten members of the Williams Chapter are on the editorial board of the Williams *Record.* One is an editor of the *Literary Monthly,* two others were editors of the 1914 *Gulielmensian,*

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three are varsity debaters and one is president of the Perry Economics Club. All are taking an active interest in other organizations. The faculty has given much attention to the club. Last June nearly a score of students purchased Spargo's "Socialism" to read during the summer. "May we next year have greater growth all around, better enthusiasm, finer success and increased opportunities to broaden and extend our work. The educating task we are taking on ourselves is a splendid one and we must make the most of it," writes the president. "Again, here's for success next year."

The prospects are very bright at SIMMONS where a membership of 35 is reported. Officers for the new year are Miss Clara S. Sargent, president; Miss Dorothea B. Ingles, vice-president; Miss Bessie L. Jost, secretary.

On October 29th, Harry W. Laidler will speak on Socialism in the assembly of the MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

The New England colleges all along the line are planning good seasons.

THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The I. S. S. Chapter at ADELPHI COLLEGE, Brooklyn, was formed by Miss Jessie W. Hughan in the late spring, following an address before the Economics class.

At COLGATE Thomas Healy, president of the Colgate Socialist Club, received the first prize in the college oratorical contest. A few weeks prior, Glenn H. Speece, president of the Ohio Wesleyan Socialist Club, obtained at Colgate the first prize in an oratorical contest between five colleges.

At COLUMBIA, President Sholes of the club is arranging for some big meetings and reports fine prospects.

The NEW YORK DENTISTS' Chapter is continuing its magazine. Mr. Gossen is president of the club and William Mendelson, secretary.

CORNELL Chapter ended last year with a talk by Prof. N. Schmidt, subject, "Urgent Social Reforms."

Paul Hanna of the Philadelphia Chapter addressed a group of students in the Economic Class of SWARTHMORE in the latter part of May.

WEST

The first application for a Charter during the present college year has come from HIRAM COLLEGE, where eight students have formed a club with Emerson Morel as president, Afner Heisler, vice-president, and Ammon Hennacy, secretary.

The last Chapter formed during the college year 1912-13 was also in Ohio at CINCINNATI UNIVERSITY. Harry R. Richmond is one of the most active spirits in this organization.

Glenn H. Speece of OHIO WESLEYAN is organizing a conference which will take place either in Cleveland or Columbus. The active co-operation of the Cleveland Alumni Chapter has been promised.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OHIO NORTHERN and other of the Ohio colleges are looking forward to a productive season.

Dr. DeVilbiss of Fort Wayne, Indiana, has offered actively to co-operate with the Society in organizing undergraduate and graduate groups and in lecturing among some of the Indiana colleges.

The new officers in the COLORADO UNIVERSITY Chapter of the I. S. S. are Dena Claff, president; C. R. Froman, vice-president; Miss D. Lindberg, secretary, and Marian Orris, treasurer.

Of the results obtained last year, Mr. Seyer of ALBERTA Chapter writes: "The progress was considerable. We secured the use of lecture rooms for meetings, became recognized by the student body, had a Socialist paper placed in the library to keep company with the *Common Cause,* secured space in the university paper and, last, but not least, added several members to our ranks." A fine photograph of the Club has been received by the Society.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The NEW YORK Alumni Chapter is continuing its study courses during the coming year from November to April inclusive. The biweekly meetings will be devoted to a discussion of the various schools of Socialism and to the relation of Socialism, to art, science, the women's movement, etc. Among the speakers at the various meetings will be: Prof. James T. Shotwell of Columbia, Miss Juliet S. Poyntz of Barnard, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, Miss Mary R. Stanford, John Mowbray-Clark, Walter Lippmann, Dr. I. A. Hourwich, Miss Jessie W. Hughan, Miss Jessie Ashley, F. Sumner-Boyd, Dr. J. R. Brodsky, W. Evans Clark, Rufus Trimble, Harry W. Laidler, and others.

The last of the season's meetings of the CHICAGO Chapter was devoted to a discussion of the industrial situation. Among those taking part in the discussion were Irwin Tucker, Carl D. Thompson and Walter Lanfersiek.

The recently elected officers of the SPRINGFIELD Alumni Chapter are: Edwin A. Feld, president; Mrs. George Chamberlain, secretary; Mrs. Ruth S. Feld, corresponding secretary, and Mr. B. F. Thompson, treasurer.

The PHILADELPHIA Chapter reports a membership of 77. It is planning a number of dinners for the coming year and is assisting the Society in organizing Chapters in the various colleges around Philadelphia. The CLEVELAND Chapter has had its first meeting

and is actively assisting in organizing an Ohio conference. The final meeting of the year of the WASHINGTON Alumni Chapter was addressed by Mrs. Ella Reeve Bloor, who spoke on the University Socialists in Europe.

The Los ANGELES Chapter reports more than a dozen interesting meetings during the past year with R. A. Maynard, Dr. John Haynes, Job Harriman, Mila Tupper Maynard, Lena M. Lewis, Mrs. Georgia Kotsch, Earl Hitchcock, Frank Wolfe, George Dunlap, Edward N. Nealey and others as speakers. The BOSTON, ST. LOUIS and other of the Alumni Chapters report excellent prospects.

LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES IN ENGLISH FAVORABLE TO PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, [1900-1912]

Compiled by CARO LLOYD

NOTE.—This and the following issue will contain a brief bibliography of public ownership compiled by Caro Lloyd, for the use of students. It gives only titles of books and articles published in English, because relatively few American students read foreign languages fluently enough to make foreign writings on this subject available for current use. The arguments for and against public ownership are, moreover, substantially alike in all languages with one important exception.

This exception is the criticism which has appeared in German Socialist publications pointing out that public ownership is, in itself, not Socialism, that it may, indeed, be used in the service of reactionary government as in the case of the railroads of Russia, Prussia and Mexico. The titles of these articles have not been included because of their inaccessibility. Students can, however, look them up, if they desire, in the files of *Der Kampf* (Vienna), *Die Neue Zeit* (Berlin), and *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Berlin).

Obviously the more democratic a community or a nation, the less publicly owned property can be used in the service of the reactionary forces in Society. And the greater the Socialist enlightenment, the less the danger in that direction. In any case, the Co-operative Commonwealth is unthinkable without public ownership.

We are now undergoing the transition. Public ownership by the federal government, the states and cities increases while we discuss it. Ours the task of intelligent observation and interpretation.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

BOOKS

BLISS, W. D. P. The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform. N. Y.: Funk, Wagnalls, 1908. See Public Ownership, Municipal Ownership, etc.

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